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WORK CAREERS OF EVER AND NEVER MARRIED WOMEN

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HOME ECONOMICS

1981

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WORK CAREERS OF NEVER AND EVER MARRIED WOMEN

by



BARBARA JEFFREY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

IN

FAMILY STUDIES

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled WORK CAREERS: EVER AND NEVER MARRIED WOMEN submitted by BARBARA JEFFREY in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Family Studies, in the Faculty of Home Economics.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the relationship between marital status and the involvement of women in a work career. Data was collected from a sample of ever (n=58) and never (n=22) married women to determine similarities and differences in their non-professional work careers.

The SPSS procedure of discriminant analysis was used to examine the variables. An optimal set of variables which best discriminated between the work careers of ever and never married women was obtained. Each variable was also assessed as to its independent discriminating power.

The work careers of ever and never married women were not found to be substantially different, based on the variables used in this study. No individual variable was found to be an important discriminator between the two groups. Within the optimal set, two variables contributed most to the discriminating power of the set: FAM 1 which stated that the reason for the first gap in the work career was a family reason and VO15 which was the number of gaps in the work career. Never married women are a subgroup of women who have been assumed to be more like men in their labour force participation. This study shows the similarities of the work careers of never and ever married women.

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Justification For The Study

Research interest in women, their social attitudes and lifestyles, their sex roles and economic conditions has increased in recent years. Women's lives are in a process of change, a process acutely affected by the movement of large numbers of women into the labour force. In Canada, in 1921, 20.5% of women were employed in work outside the home. In 1971 the proportion of employed women had nearly doubled to 39.9% (Urquhart and Buckley, 1965; Statistics Canada, 1971). Projections for 1981 reach fifty percent of all women in Canada in the labour force.

Women have always contributed to the nation's economy but, historically, that contribution has been chiefly domestic. Women's role in the home had attained a romanticized legitimacy as the "true and appropriate" purpose of women (Boulding, 1979, p.281). Research in work and family relations had included two sexually asymmetric assumptions. For women, the assumption had been that their family role was always the salient role (Kanter, 1977). Their "preferred" role was as wife and usually mother. "The degree to which other activities for females such as employment, have received social approval may have varied, but no activity or set of activities have been accepted as an alternative to the role of wife and mother" (Uhlenberg, 1974). Uhlenberg

labelled failure to comply with this ascribed status of wife and mother as "deviant".

Conversely, for men the assumption has been that their work role is the central role in their lives. Men have been designated "head of the household" due to their financial contribution to the family. Social scientists, for example, have studied the effects of men's work roles on the family but have written little on the reverse effects of men's family roles on their work participation.

Even when the preferred role for women has been within the home, there have always been women who have had different levels of labour force participation. There are numerous reasons why work outside the home is valued.

Besides the obvious function of work in providing subsistence (and evidence continues to show that wages do matter), work is a means to individualistic achievement, a way of attaining highly valued rewards - a sense of self-worth, prestige, social status, fulfillment enriching life experiences, satisfaction in service to others, power and influence, and so on. Women and men alike value these prizes... and thus we may expect work to have an attraction for both sexes (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976, p. 234)

Reasons for women working outside the home have undergone change. Scanzoni and Scanzoni (1976) report that in a 1960 study 70% of women, asked why they worked, cited money or other reasons rather than enjoyment whereas, in 1970, about 50% said they worked because they enjoyed work.

A conference held in Maryland in 1978 on the problems and potentials of the older woman emphasized many gaps in contemporary knowledge about women's lives, including their labour force participation. The delegates urged researchers to examine the family in the light of its deep enmeshment in the economic, social and political conditions of the times. They suggested the undertaking of longitudinal studies to substantiate women's work career patterns. "There is also a need to develop more detailed measures of work experiences beyond mere participation - nonparticipation." (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1980, pp. 6-13) The conference report contained encouragement for researchers who would attempt smaller, more intensive studies of aspects of women's lives; studies which do not aggregate women but focus on subgroups of women such as specific ethnic groups and social classes, rural versus urban women, never married women or childless women; studies which anchor their findings in the relevant historical events of the times. (pp. 6-7)

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between marital status and the involvement of women in a work career. These women had engaged in non-professional work careers during an historical period in which the traditional career for women was within the

home. Interest in the impact of the family role on women's work roles led the author to include in the study women with two types of family careers, those who married and those who remained single. Profiles of work careers of these two groups of women will be developed which highlight the similarities and differences in their involvement in the work role.

Conceptual Framework

The family developmental framework has been chosen as the tool with which to view this research. These key concepts of the framework will be explained as they pertain to the data being reviewed:

1. The concepts of family and work careers
2. Roles within family and work careers
3. Historical and social process time in relation to work and family careers
4. The societal-institutional facet of family and work careers.

The family development framework is being subjected to major reworkings (Hill and Mattessich, 1977) and criticisms as to the empirical value of a pivotal concept, the family life cycle, in comparison to other stratification schemes for studying family development (Spanier, Sauer and Larzelere, 1979; Hareven, 1978). However, family development as a theoretical perspective was formulated specifically to deal with the demands of family research and service (Hill and Mattessich, 1977). The main tenets of conceptualization are still appropriate to the nature of the data being analyzed and to the concerns of the researcher.

The primary concept of the developmental

approach to family research is that the family, like the individual, goes through a developmental process with inherent changes or adaptations required during each of several stages (Duvall, 1977). The term "career" has been used to describe the processes and sequential regularities observable in the family over its life history. A dictionary definition of career is "one's progress through life" (Guralink, 1979). Voydanoff (1980) gives a general definition of career as a "patterned sequence of activities that are functionally related across settings" (p.1). These descriptions allow for the inclusion of several careers, even simultaneously, during a person's life. Wilensky (1961) assigned a career-over-the-life-cycle approach to work, to family life, to consumption and to social participation (p.227). Elder and Rockwell (1976) describe three career lines in a lifetime: socioeconomic career, marital career and parental career (p.34). This research is focused on the effects of two family career lines, the ever married and never married family career lines, on the occupational career lines of a group of women. The usual conceptualization of a family career assumes a longstanding husband-wife relationship, usually accompanied by the parenting of one or more children. Recent work is attempting "to accomodate less traditional and non-nuclear family patterns into the family development framework" (Voydanoff, 1980 p.2).

One such "unusual" family pattern is that of remaining unmarried throughout life. However, one could argue that the never-married woman has an ongoing family career line with her family of orientation with certain rights and responsibilities. The never-married woman's 'deviant' family career will affect her occupational career as will the married woman's more preferred career. Voydanoff (1980) emphasizes the "interdependence of multiple career lines involving competing demands that require scheduling, coordination and resource management" and feels the integration of the concept of work-family life cycle "provides a means of mapping the increasing variety of ways in which women...coordinate work and family roles across the life course" (1. 1).

Rodgers (1973) used the term "family career" to describe "the linking of role complexes, i.e. all the role clusters which exist at any one point in time, concurrently, together, sequentially over the life of the family" (p. 19). Any person within the family owns a role cluster, a set of concurrent roles or expectations which are the content of a position at any particular point in time in a given group. Wife or eldest daughter would be a position in the family and own several simultaneous roles. The assumption has been that for a wife the parenting role is dominant. Importance of the roles in a position can also change over time. Rodgers (1973) says that "in examining a given role in a system, it will be seen that the normative content of

that role changes through time" (p. 18). The nature of the parenting role for example, is different when children are preschool age than teenagers. As a woman moves through her life, she may play some roles sequentially and others concurrently. She may alternate between work and family roles or hold them both concurrently. In this research the work roles of the two groups of women with different family roles are examined. Are there differences or similarities? Did these women play these two roles concurrently or sequentially? Was the work role of never-married women dominant? Was the marital or family role of married women dominant?

When examining roles and positions in a family and within a society, one must acknowledge the importance of historical time on the norms and expectations a family or a society embraces. Because of the nature of the data being analyzed, the element of historical time, an important concept in family development, must be superimposed on the discussion of roles. The work and family careers of women in this sample spanned half a century. Subtle and dramatic changes occurred in the institutional norms for family and work careers during this time period. Influences of the historical events on women and on their participation in work will be discussed in the literature review.

As Rodgers (1973) points out, normative expectations for family behavior are not the same for all periods

of a family's personal history. Work for young, unmarried women was acceptable when the women in this sample were entering their work careers (1925-1935). However these women were expected to leave the labour force when they married. Rodgers calls this a change in the processual period; what was a normative expectation for an unmarried woman of twenty-two was not the same for a married woman of the same age. The former had moved ahead to a different period of social time and therefore the norms had changed. This research is concerned with the social process of family roles and its impact on women's work careers.

Family behavior and the norms and expectations families set upon their members in family positions are directly affected by society's norms. Rodgers (1973) calls this the societal-institutional facet to a family's career. Every society develops a set of expectations concerning what it considers right or wrong in the ways families are formed and function (p. 24). The developmental approach treats the family system as the major social system which interrelates with other structures of society. The concern in this study is the family's interaction with the economic system. The family supplies occupants for the economic system, normally the husband as primary provider. The women in this sample also made substantial contributions to the economic system. They balanced the demands of work with any family demands.

The family is also the major consuming unit of

goods and services produced in an economic system. The desirability and availability of these goods and services will affect the interaction of the family with the work force. In times of hardship, more women might be expected to enter the work force because of economic necessity. When new consumer goods flood the market, more women might work to be able to keep up with the rising standard of living.

The family and occupational systems have always been inter-related. In pre-industrial times the family was the occupational system. The two became dichotomized as a result of the Industrial revolution but events within the family have always affected the work careers of participants and vice versa. The family development framework allows the researcher to examine family and occupational careers in the light of the social process and historical time of the participants.

Review of the Literature

Introduction

Women who were interviewed for this research belong to the age cohort born between 1910-1920. A researcher must consider the work and family careers of these women from several perspectives. First to be considered is their role socialization and the relative importance that family and work roles played in their lives. Second is the effect of the marital status of these women on society's attitudes towards women's roles. Finally, historical events over their work and family careers have influenced the nature of those careers. These three factors will be reviewed before the relevant literature on patterns and quality of women's labour force participation are considered.

The literature review will include the following components.

A. The context of women's family and work roles

1. Traditional sex-role socialization of women
2. Effect of marital status on attitudes toward women's roles
3. Effect of historical events (1920-1950) on women's roles

B. Women's labour force participation

1. Women's patterns of employment
2. Women's style of involvement in work careers
3. Women's work histories

C. Variables to be included in analysis

1. Independent variable of marital status
2. Dependent variables

A. The context of women's family and work roles

1. Traditional sex-role socialization of women

Role socialization of women must be examined to understand the effects of socialization on women's choices in work and family careers throughout their life spans. The importance given to certain roles within women's lives will have behavioral consequences when women are forced to make choices between family and work careers.

Researchers agree that the primary role assigned to adult women throughout most of this century has been the role of wife. Chafe (1972) included this quote from an article written in 1924: "Being a husband represented only one of many roles assigned to a man while being a wife constituted the only role assigned to a woman." (p. 101). Boulding (1979) found that woman's role as "keeper of the home, family, leisure and culture" (p. 281) was the appropriate role and purpose of women. Parsons (1942) declared that sex-role specialization assigning women to attend to the expressive needs of the family while the husband was responsible for instrumental (and therefore financial) needs was fundamental to a stable marriage.

The life career of women, therefore, was

clearly defined. She would become a wife, homemaker (and hopefully mother) and invest her energies in this role. Chenoweth and Maret (1980) called marriage "the first stage of an investment in the traditional sex-role behavior...[with the] expectation that a wife will also be a mother and homemaker with primary if not sole investment in these roles" (p.231).

Lopata, in 1971, wrote that "women are still not expected to participate seriously in the work world outside of their homes...their work training is minimized by a value system which declares that their natural roles are those of wife, mother and housewife and that only those roles are of significance to them...Work is always seen in this value scheme as of secondary importance, regardless of their age or familial status" (p. 29).

Women who are now in their sixties were raised in a milieu in which they were expected to be committed to a family role. Labour force participation, if any, would be desultory and short, without commitment. Training for a work role would be unnecessary because the only role of significance for a woman would be the wife-homemaker role.

2. Effects of marital status on appropriate role behavior of women

Lopata (1971) believed that the only exception to the rule that family was the first consideration for women was the "never married spinster who is expected to

commit herself seriously to being a librarian or school-teacher in lieu of a family" (p. 29). Never married women had not entered "the first stage of investment in traditional sex role behavior" for women as Chenoweth and Maret (1980) had termed marriage. Never married women were seen as responsible for their own instrumental needs. Unmarried women constituted the majority of working women earlier in this century.

Table 3.1 Percentage of Women in Labour Force Unmarried (Dept. of Labour, 1965)

Year	%
1931	80.7
1941	79.9
1951	62.1
1961	42.3

The appropriateness of the employment of single women was not questioned.

For the most part it was taken for granted not only that young, single girls could be gainfully employed but that they should be. The rationale was straightforward. As one columnist wrote in 1929, 'a few years of business experience...serve to make a woman a more efficient homemaker, a more companionable wife and a better-balanced mother'....They would be better-prepared as well, of course, for the exigencies of spinsterhood or early widowhood. (Trofimenkoff and Prentice, 1977, p. 118)

Unmarried women were expected to invest time and energy into a career that would otherwise have been used in the homemaker/wife role.

One would expect, though, that an unmarried

woman who was socialized as were her married cohorts, to the duties of a woman as primary care-giver in a family, would feel responsibility toward her family of orientation, especially in times of need or crises. The expectations she would feel would depend upon family composition, her career and the separateness or connectedness of family members. In the present study one interviewee mentioned staying with her widowed father until all younger siblings had left home. Another spoke of going home to Scotland to care for her mother until she died. Both these women adjusted their work careers to their family's needs, one by delaying entrance into the labour force, the other by interrupting her work career.

Married women were expected to sublimate any work career to their family role. Would never married women do the same?

3. The effects of historical events on attitudes toward married women and work

Women who are married have been alternately discouraged and encouraged to enter the labour force but, in North America any encouragement to work has been of a temporary nature. Throughout the century the power of the role-socialization of women to stay within the home has overcome brief lapses due to specific historical situations.

World War I pulled women into the labour force to replace men in the army. Women worked in industry and business to keep the "home fires burning". (Hesse, 1979,

p. 48). After the war many women left the labour force or were forced to leave. "Many state and local governments revised old bans on the employment of married women in teaching and other public jobs. Several state legislatures considered bills to prohibit hiring wives in private industry" (Hesse, 1979, pp. 48-49). The women's suffrage movement during and after World War I caused a brief flurry in ideas of reform for women's choices and responsibilities. A taste of work during the war had raised hopes that women would be encouraged to enter the business world as partners, not replacements, for men. But the realities of most women's lives did not change so women became disillusioned with reform and idealism. (Vipond, 1977).

The effect of the Depression on women in the work force is seen differently by different authors. Bennett and Elder (1979) suggest that middle and working class deprived families socialized their women to continue family responsibilities by employment outside the home. These authors see any attempt by women to continue employment through and after World War II as directly related to these women's experiences of diminished life chances (through limited education) and the acquired disposition for economic independence and material aspiration resulting from the Depression. Many women interviewed mentioned that their education was curtailed by lack of money. They also spoke of working at anything during the Depression to add to the family's meagre assets.

However Chafe (1972) believes that "the Depression especially sharpened disapproval of work by married women. Employed wives were 'thieving parasites of the business world'...'holding jobs that rightfully belong to the God-intended providers of the household'" (p. 108). A Gallup poll of 1936 reported 82% of respondents as agreed that wives of employed husbands should not work, "an issue on which voters are about as solidly united as on any subject imaginable - including sin and hay fever" (Chafe, 1972), p. 108). This situation occurred in spite of the fact that wives needed the work for economic survival of the family and that working wives were concentrated in jobs where few men were employed anyway. (Chafe, 1972, p. 109).

Attitudes toward married women in the work force changed once again during World War II. The Canadian census listed 638,000 women in the work force in 1931 and 1,200,000 women in the work force in 1944. (Dept. of Labour, 1965; Pierson, 1977). However Pierson (1977) argues that the situation was always meant to be temporary; that the basic beliefs about working wives had not changed. The war "did not adduce women's equal right to work but instead invoked the necessity of sacrifice for the nation at war and stressed the temporary nature of the sacrifice (Pierson, 1977, p. 125).

Certainly there was a bewildering reversal of the "proper place" for women after World War II. Freidan

(1963) named the pressure which forced women to return to their "cult of domesticity" as the feminine mystique. Friedan and Blaxandall, Gordon and Reverby (1976) link women in the home to their important role as consumers of massive amounts of goods being produced by industries which had been converted from military to household manufacturing. Special tax concessions which had been introduced in Canada during the war to "keep married women from quitting employment and to encourage the entry of married women into gainful employment" (Pierson, 1977, p. 135) had been removed as of January 1, 1947.

Changes in attitudes towards working wives slowly came about during the 1960's. The Department of Labour publication Women at Work in Canada (1965) credits the abundance of consumer goods such as automatic washers and vacuum cleaners for effecting an attitudinal change. These goods were expensive and a wife's earnings were needed to help attain a comfortable, comparable standard of living. Also, the goods freed women from some of the labour-intensive housework, leaving more hours for gainful employment. "If this has not been the main psychological factor that produced the recent 1965 large influx of married women into the labour market, it has certainly provided a powerful argument for modifying traditional attitudes in the family setting" (p. 6).

For women in this research, attitudes changed when they were in the latter years of their family and

work careers. Women in the sample had a mean of 28 years of work experience. Their decisions about work had been made when society approved of never married women's employment but did not sanction married women's employment. The work role was always considered secondary for a married woman. A never married should work but also be mindful of family responsibilities. In times of national emergency, such as war, a married woman should make a temporary sacrifice by entering the work force to help the cause, realizing that she will return to her primary family responsibilities after the crisis.

B. Women's Labour force participation

Regardless of negative attitudes towards women's involvement in work careers, some women have always been employed. Between the years of 1931 and 1961 marital status directly affected the probability of woman's being employed. A majority of the employed women were never-married. In 1961, however, the Canadian census showed, for the first time, more married than never married women employed: 44.9% married; 42.3% single. (Dept. of Labour, 1965. This change occurred during the employment careers of women in this sample. In fact, labour force participation of all women steadily increased

through the century.

Table 3.2 Percentage of females (age 14+) in the labour force (Dept. of Labour, 1966)

Year	%
1921	19.9
1931	21.8
1941	23.0
1951	24.6
1961	29.6
June 1965	32.1

Participation rates have also increased for each age group of women, least of all for teens (14-19) and the greatest increase by middle-aged and older women. (dept. of Labour, 1966). The rate of increase in labour force activity of married women also increased: 1941 - 4% rate of increase; 1951 - 11% and 1961 - 22% rate of increase in labour force activity of married women. (dept. of Labour, 1966). Several reasons have been posited for the increase in women in the labour force in Canada. Two booklets published by the Canadian Dept. of Labour (1965, 1966) reviewed changing patterns in women's employment in the 20th century.

There has been, in recent decades, a marked expansion of jobs which are considered especially suitable for feminine employment, in particular jobs in the service-producing sector of the economy and in white-collar occupations. (Dept. of Labour, 1966, p. 12)

Sylvia Ostry, quoted in the same publication (1966) lists radical improvements in household technology, urbanization of Canada, change in marital and fertility patterns and improvements in women's education as factors in the increasing participation of women in the work force.

Several authors have reviewed reasons why married women have remained involved or returned to a work career: Oppenheimer, 1974; Waite, 1980; Krpes, 1971; Voydanoff, 1980; Moen and Moorehouse, 1980. Kyrk, in an article published in 1947, emphasized the "push and pull" influences on women's labour force participation.

Favourable social attitudes, small families, decreasing and easier home production are not...to be thought of as the causes of gainful employment of women. The can opener or its most up-to-date equivalent, the frozen food package, is not a cause but a condition that facilitates. Women enter the labour market not because it is possible in the sense that they are not tied to their child care or

by the disapproval of family or friends. They enter in response to the pull of attractive job opportunities or the push of economic necessity. It takes a greater pull or push to get them there if home conditions are not favourable, a lesser force if conditions facilitate; but the immediate cause is the attractiveness the job will provide. (Kreps, 1971, p. 33)

The women in this sample decided to work in an era when the expectation for married women at least, was that women would remain in the home.

1. Employment patterns of women

Several patterns of involvement of women in their work and family careers have been identified. Chenoweth and Maret (1980) cite three major life-career patterns for American women born between 1923 and 1937. These are work patterns within the home; mixed home and labour force participation; and labour force participation. (p. 233) Their definition of a "mixed" pattern was a pattern in which women had not been continuously employed but had had some significant employment. These researchers found a "significant and strong relationship observed between the marital status of women in 1967 and their career patterns ($\gamma = .49$)" (p. 232). Married women were "significantly over-represented" among those with home careers and "significantly under-represented" among those with careers in the labour force. Never-married women showed a modal pattern of labour force careers whereas married women showed a modal pattern not of home

careers but of a mixed career pattern. Forty-two percent of married women showed a mixed career pattern and 25% had careers in the labour force. Interestingly, 13.2% of never-married women also exhibited a home career pattern and 10.9% a mixed career pattern.

Ostry (1966) described somewhat the same pattern in Canadian women's employment after analyzing the 1951 and 1961 census results. She reported that a major change had occurred in that decade. Increased participation of women in Canada's work force was due to the behavioral change of married women. Ostry called married women's labour force participation profile a "two phase working life cycle" and noted that such a phenomenon had been observed in the United States a decade earlier. (p. 6) Women showed two peak periods of labour force participation: 20-24 and 35-44, though the re-entry peak was lower than in the earlier phase.

Voydanoff (1980) agreed that "sequential staging" is the modal type of labour force participation for married women. This pattern "combines traditional role allocation in which the husband is the major earner and the wife the major family worker with sequential work-family role staging in which paid employment alternates with family work over some portion of the life course" (p. 7). Voydanoff describes several types of sequential work-family participation: "conventional

in which the woman quits working when she marries or has children and doesn't return; early interrupted in which she stops working for childrearing early in her career development and then returns; late interrupted in which she establishes her career, quits for a period of child-rearing and then returns; and unstable in which she alternates between full-time homemaking and paid employment" (p. 7). Voydanoff includes unmarried or voluntarily childless women as an extreme example of traditional sequential staging because these women "give priority to work roles and orient family participation to work demands" (p. 7). She believes that traditional role allocation in the family encourages this pattern among career-oriented women.

Heckman and Willis's (1977) findings in a study of sequential labour force participation by married women do not agree with Chenoweth and Maret (1980) or Ostry (1965). They found that "women are heterogenous in their propensity for labour force participation; they either work or do not work instead of continually entering and withdrawing from the labour force. Non-workers presumably leave the market at first birth" (p. 289). This situation for women's labour force participation existed in Canada until the changes which Ostry explained occurred between 1951 and 1961.

Lopata (1971) studied the work histories of older American women and felt that work was not an

important part of their lives.

In summary of the work involvement of American women, we can state that most young women of past generations did not train for careers or for any but passive work roles and did not engage in paid employment with much interest or for a long period of time...Their work histories are generally erratic and limited to minimal level jobs. (p. 31)

Lopata found many of these same women were forced back to work or returned voluntarily when they were in the 45-54 age group though they had not planned or trained for such an eventuality. Ten percent of Lopata's respondents never worked in their lives; an additional 26% did not work before marriage; another 40% never worked while they were living with their husband; eleven percent worked "all the time" during marriage; 11% worked "most of the time"; thirty-eight percent worked some of the time. (Lopata, 1971, p. 31)

Rosenfeld (197) explains women's employment as "intermittent employment, with the pattern of interruptions related to changes in the extent of their responsibilities within the home" (p. 308).

The expected pattern of work behavior for women in the years before 1961 in Canada was a brief sojourn in the labour force until marriage. The advent of the two-phase working life cycle occurred in the decade prior to 1961, when a smaller proportion of women re-entered the work force between the ages of 35 and 44. These women re-entering were usually married women. The

employment pattern of never-married women was expected to follow more the man's employment pattern. (Kreps, 1971) There is little research on whether the never-married woman actually did engage in a more-or-less uninterrupted career but this pattern has been assumed because of the never-married woman's time to devote to her work rather than family responsibilities.

2. Women's Style of Involvement in Work Careers

Lopata (1971) delineated not only the extent of women's home or labour force participation but also the style of their involvement in work careers and the sources of force or pressure which lead to job changes.

Lopata (1969) had described three behavioral stances which women may enact in approaching their work roles: the passive stance, the reactive stance and the initiating stance. Lopata emphasized that these "are not descriptions of total personalities but only role or relational stances" (1971, p.28) However she believes that people tend to build habits of relational stances so that their history of style of involvement points to their being a passive acceptor or an initiator in a role.

In the passive stance, the person looks for equilibrium and has neither the tools nor the desire for initiative action. In fact, external events pushing for action are regarded as threatening. Change is not

self-directed because it is defined as more problematic than the present condition. Although Lopata has stated that a stance does not describe a total personality, she seems to have derived her definition from personality descriptions of passivity. (Lopata, 1969) A passive person does not form a plan of life or situational action; does not see herself as able to control the role, the world or the behavior of others; does not see her own actions as capable of restraint. (Lopata, 1971)

The reactive stance is to await some person or some event to define the situation and plan action. This stance shows willingness to act, even to change life circumstances in reaction to external stimulation such as a job transfer or marriage.

The initiating approach to role involvement is to analyze any situation and plan action to meet goals, often directing anyone else willing to be led.

Lopata felt that most young women of past generations were not socialized to undertake anything but passive work roles, partly because of lack of career training and also because work was of little importance. The value system which closed off the occupational world to women restricted their orientation to work and their actual engagement in occupations. (lopata, 1971)

Lopata's research with American widows was part of a larger project carried on by the Gerontological

Society in the United States. One committee within the project analyzed careers in the 40-65 age bracket. Murray, Powers and Havighurt (1971) approached the style of involvement in a career in a more global way than Lopata. They believe that two pressures or motivations can cause job changes: the self (pressure from within the person) and the environment (or non-self). (p. 5) The strength of pressure from either source can vary from zero to positive or negative. The person could be undergoing low pressure, from both self and environment, to change or high pressure from one with negative pressure from the other. The social conditions at the time also affect environmental and self pressure as well as the job alternatives or options. "For example, an extremely tight labour market, perhaps such as existed in the United States [and Canada] during the 1930's would lead to rather strong environmental pressures to retain one's job. Also, individuals may invest such a great deal in their efforts to obtain a job that they feel compelled to retain it" (Murray, Powers and Havighurst, 1971, p. 5). Women with little career training might lack self-confidence to be initiating in work. On the other hand, women might feel that they have not invested a great deal into a job so would have nothing to lose in initiating a change.

Murray, Powers and Havighurst feel that the

style of involvement in one job often becomes a pattern throughout the whole job career. That pattern is visible when an entire life sequence of jobs is examined; at least the work motivation pattern can be inferred.

(1971, p. 5)

One can assume that the style of involvement in work career could be affected by marital status. Speculation as to the nature of the differences is difficult to make. Would the married woman be more passive or reactive because of her family responsibilities? Would she change jobs mainly because of external stimuli such as a transfer for her husband or the birth of a child? Or would she feel freer to be an initiator because her work is not the prime support of the family and she has less to lose? Would the unmarried woman feel more able to direct her own career because she has mainly herself to consider or would that self-dependence lead her to become worried about her future and so take less risks? This qualitative type of information is not well researched for women's work involvement.

3. Women's job histories

Regardless of the person's style of involving themselves in jobs, whether changes are initiated by the person or the environment, the whole history of one's work career is affected by "the value system, the type

and level of preparation for engagement in the labor market and the stance taken toward work roles" (Lopata, 1971, p.28) Lopata combined these three factors to formulate descriptions of types of work histories which women followed. The two major divisions were inflexible and flexible work histories. The flexible category was subdivided to flexible changer and flexible careerist. An inflexible job history shows a worker who moves through jobs with little change in occupation: a sales clerk in her first job, a sales clerk in her last. The flexible changer's work history contains several different unrelated jobs: a sequence such as egg grader, sales clerk, enumerator, beauty counsellor. The flexible careerist moves in a step-wise progression through a series of jobs: shampoo girl, stylist, manager, owner. (Lopata, 1971, p. 29)

Rosenfeld (1979) described women's occupational careers as "flat status curves" and found that women tended to remain with certain occupations. She suggests that women trade upward status mobility for the potentially greater ease of re-entry during their intermittent employment careers. (p.308)

The expectation, once again, is that few women in this sample will have flexible careers. Their socialization did not demand nor provide flexible and career-oriented work histories. Lopata's (1971) thesis is that inadequacy in career preparation naturally leads to careers which are inflexible or flexible changes

rather than flexibly career-oriented. Marital status would be expected to affect a woman's job history. Married women's careers were expected to be intermittent. Never-married women were not better prepared for work careers than married women. However, if they were investing more time and energy in the career, once they began work, the assumption is that they might become upwardly mobile because of seniority and accumulated knowledge about their work.

C. Variables in the analysis

1. Independent variables

Most of the women in the age cohort used in this study grew up (as Lopata, 1971 expressed it) "with the expectation that they would be primarily wives, mothers and housewives to the exclusion of occupations requiring complex and prolonged or even later-acquired training" (p. 30). Work was always seen as "of secondary importance for women, never as anything which could be

arranged to take occasional priority" (p. 29). The exception to this may have been the unmarried woman who replaced heavy family commitments with work. Especially because of the historical nature of the data, the issue of marital status is important in examining women's work careers. The division was made between ever and never married women because marriage itself was the determiner of different role expectations. Marriage meant the beginning of an investment in the traditional family career for a woman. Never married women didn't have this pivotal point in their lives when a choice between family and work was made. Both groups of women had entered work after finishing school, expecting involvement to be minimal and temporary. Never married women presumably continued to work when they didn't marry. Married women continued or resumed a work career as desire and social, political and economic and family conditions allowed. The expectation is that the work careers of the two groups will differ. The purpose is to discover how the profiles of the dependent work career variables were influenced by the independent variable, marital status.

2. Dependent variables

A review of the literature has highlighted several areas where the work careers of ever and never married women may be expected to differ. These areas are incorporated into the dependent variables used in the analysis. The aim of the analysis is to discover if the included variables actually do discriminate between ever and never married women.

The age of entry into the work career is used to see if never and ever married women differ in age of entry into work career. The expectation is that both groups will have similar ages of entry. They will begin work soon after finishing whatever education was available, possible or desired.

The number of years worked will be totaled to include in the analysis. The expectation is that ever married women's careers, even if significant in length, will be shorter than never married women's work careers. Historical times and role socialization has pressured married women to leave work careers at marriage.

Ever married women would be expected to have

more gaps in their work careers because of greater family commitment; any gaps would be expected to be longer for ever than never-married women, partly due to the reasons for the gaps and also because never-married women would presumably need the financial security of the job and enter work again as quickly as possible.

Gaps in a married woman's career would be expected to be mainly for family reasons: marriage; husband's disapproval of a working wife; pregnancy; child care; illness of spouse, children, parents, in-laws or extended family; husband transferred. Work-related reasons for gaps in work career could apply to either group of women: no jobs available; training; seasonal work only; other reasons for leaving a job such as illness of self should be included. If all women are socialized to give family responsibilities priority, some never-married women should also explain gaps in work career by citing family reasons such as illness of parents or extended family.

The number of jobs held over the work careers of ever and never-married women are used in the analysis. If never-married women have longer work careers than ever married women their job total could be higher. If ever-married women have intermittent work careers, their job total could be higher because of entry and re-entry into the work force.

The number of jobs held could indicate the style of involvement of both groups of women in work careers. A larger total of jobs could indicate a more initiating style which prompted the worker to seek upgraded jobs. Style of involvement necessitates analyzing each participant's work career to see reasons for job changes. Several job changes could merely be reactions to family or economic conditions: a husband who was frequently transferred or a tight job market or bans on married women being employed more than three months.

The history of a woman's work career is obtained by inferring, from the types of jobs she has held over her work cycle, whether she could be considered inflexible, a flexible changer or a flexible careerist. The expectation is that a never-married woman could be more inflexible because of a need for job security or more flexible because she does not have as many family responsibilities.

Three more variables are used in the analysis. Respondents were asked their age at most satisfactory and least satisfactory jobs. As one quarter of the sample had no least satisfactory job so this variable is not used in the analysis. Because never-married women will probably become more established in their careers earlier than ever married women due to the latter's gaps, never-married women could have peaked in their work careers earlier. This variable is a subjective one so respondents could feel better about a job which had little to do with

the progress of career development: an exciting war-time job; their first job; their highest paying job; their longest or last job.

Two variables regarding retirement are included. Age at retirement could be similar for both groups of women who have had substantial work careers. Ostry (1966) had mentioned a peak for married women from 35 - 44 years, though, so they might retire earlier because they have other means of financial support or retire to keep their husbands company. Retirement income for ever and never married women could be expected to differ. Respondents were asked the sources of retirement income but not whether it was their personal savings or pensions therefore ever married women could be reporting joint husband/wife contributions. Never married women could have planned more carefully for retirement when they realized they would be responsible for their own financial affairs and therefore be proportionally better prepared. Another conflicting factor is that pension plans were not well-established when this age cohort was working and inflation will have eroded careful savings.

A list of the variables used in the analysis,

with an explanation of variable names follows.

SUM	Number of years worked
STYLE	Style of involvement in work career (inflexible or flexible)
HISTORY	History of work career pattern (externally or internally controlled)
V004	Number of jobs held
V005	Age at entry into work career
V015	Number of gaps in the work career
V017	Length of first gap in work career
V019	Length of second gap in work career
V257	Age at retirement
V289	Age at most satisfying job
V326	Retirement income
FAM 1	The reason for the first gap in work career is a family reason
FAM 2	The reason for the second gap in work career is a family reason
WORK 1	The reason for the first gap in work career is a work reason
WORK 2	The reason for the second gap in work career is a work reason
OTH 1	The reason for the first gap in work career is a reason other than family or work reasons.
OTH 2	The reason for the second gap in work career is a reason other than than family or work reasons

Research Methodology

The data for this analysis was obtained from a research project undertaken by Dr. Norah Keating with funding from the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. The study had three purposes: to describe the work careers of a group of retired women; to examine the resources of these women in retirement; and to develop a definition of leisure in the absence of work.

Interviews were conducted with 80 retired women living in Edmonton in the summer of 1980 by Norah Keating, Joyce Spiller, Gretchen Brundin, Linda Capel and Barbara Jeffrey. Interviewers were trained for the project and were professor and graduate students in Family Studies. Respondent's names were obtained from the membership files of the Edmonton Society for the Retired and Semi-Retired.

The design of the interview instrument, the decisions about sampling criteria and the pretesting of the instrument were carried about by Dr. Keating and Joyce Spiller before this author became involved with the project. This part of the study was developed after seeing the work history data contained in the instrument. This author also assisted in coding qualitative responses on work and leisure from the instrument.

Sample Criteria

The first criteria for inclusion in this sample was that the women be over the age of sixty and

retired. This would allow the woman's complete work career to be considered in the research. This study also concentrated on women whose work careers were in non-professional jobs. (For this study, the Occupational Classification Manual Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. 2, March, 1971, was used.) Non-professional work careers were chosen because women in this historical period (1930-1980) were more likely to work in these types of jobs. Lack of opportunity for education, especially for these women who reached early adulthood during the Depression, was a compelling reason for their pursuing non-professional jobs. Also, a study of women in professional careers could be more limiting because of the narrower range of careers open to women (traditionally teaching and nursing).

A decision was made during the gathering of the sample to include a larger number of never-married women than might be found at random so that comparisons could be made between never-married women and married women as to their work and retirement experiences.

Sample Description

The sample for the larger project was drawn from the files of the Edmonton Society for the Retired and Semi-Retired according to the sample criteria. "Two hundred and seventy names were drawn...from the files and were contacted by letter. Of these, 173 were dropped

for the following reasons: did not meet sample criteria (80); could not be contacted (58); refused because of disinterest or illness (34); or deceased (1). Ninety-seven women were sent questionnaires. Of these, eleven declined further participation. Eighty-six interviews were subsequently conducted. A final screening showed that six of these did not meet the sample criteria" (Keating, 1980, p. 6) The final sample was composed of 80 retired women. Ever-married women formed 72.5% of the sample (58 women) and never-married women numbered 22 (or 27.5% of the sample).

The mean age of the sample was 68.5 years with a range from sixty to seventy-nine. Although some of the women had been geographically mobile in their earlier years, the mean number of years that respondents had lived in Edmonton was 36.8 years. The women lived in retirement communities or their own apartments or homes. They were relatively independent and rated their health as good or very good.

Women who had married had done so at the relatively late age characteristic of women who had "come of age" during the Depression years. The mean age at marriage was 24.6 years. All but six of the ever-married women had children, the mean number being 2.6 children. Eight of the ever married women were divorced from their first husband (at the mean age of 44 years). By the time this data was collected, 36 of the ever married

women had been widowed, at a mean age of 52. Decisions about involvement in work careers were made, for the most part, when the ever married women were living with their husbands.

The questions in the interview schedule did not ask respondents to total years of education. Therefore, education levels of never and ever married women cannot be rigorously compared. Women were asked to list level of education completed (such as some high school; high school; career training; high school plus career training). Career training was not specified. It could have been on-the-job training, business school, in-service courses. Fifty-five percent of ever-married women and 50% of never married women had some high school education. Forty-one percent of never-married women and 26% of ever married women had supplemented "some" highschool education with a type of career training. One ever married woman spoke of working several years as a lab assistant and then beginning night courses to train as a lab technician. Another worked through the ranks in a beauty salon from shampoo girl to owner. Because this sample is composed of women whose job histories were in non-professional jobs, the career-training necessary was less than if the women had been in professional careers. (Two never married women and two ever married women had completed university.) We have assumed, for this study, that the education levels, given the historical time of the women's

instruction, are not dissimilar.

The criteria for inclusion in the sample was that women were involved in non-professional work careers. However, these work careers were varied. Examples of jobs from their histories included office and sales clerk, cashier, seamstress, maid, housekeeper, piano teacher, cook, enumerator, teacher's aide, egg grader, book binder, telephone operator, secretary, typist, office manager, farmer, aircraft assembler and nurse's aide.

Instrumentation

The research instrument consisted of two parts, a questionnaire (see Appendix A) and an interview schedule (see Appendix B). Data for this smaller study were taken from both sections of the instrument. Those women who agreed to take part in the study were first sent the questionnaire by mail. Included was a request for detailed information on the women's work careers.

Ten days after the questionnaire was mailed, the respondent was again called to set an appointment for the interview. The interview was conducted in the respondent's home and lasted from forty-five minutes to two hours. The interview contained information on demographic data and quality of work career.

The questionnaire and interview were pretested with a small sample of older women. Interviewers were trained to ensure maximum uniformity in questioning procedures.

Analysis

Data from the research instruments were coded and key-punched for computer analysis. Coding of qualitative data was performed by three people and inter-coder reliability was .98.

For this study discriminant analysis is used to examine the data on the work careers of never and ever married women. Discriminant analysis allows the researcher to statistically distinguish between two or more groups of cases defined by the research situation. "If a research situation defines the group categories as dependent upon the discriminating variable, then that situation is analogous to the technique known as multiple regression. The primary difference is that discriminant analysis treats the dependent variable as being measured at the nominal level (i.e., groups)....When the values on the discriminating variables are defined as dependent upon the groups, discriminant analysis becomes an extension of multivariate analysis of variance." (Klecka, 1980, p. 11) Therefore the groups can be the dependent or independent variables, depending upon the research situation: likewise, the discriminating variables can fill either position.

The variable used to form the two groups in this study is the variable of marital status. The groups are named (1) ever married women (n=58) and (2) never

married women (n=22). The discriminating variables concern areas where the work careers of these two groups of women may be expected to differ. The literature review explains why the sample was divided into these two groups and the current state of knowledge about the work careers of these women.

The relationship between the work careers of ever and never married women could have been compared by analyzing group means on variables such as the number of years worked. Taksucka (1970) feels that the danger in merely comparing means is that a distorted picture of group differences would be obtained as the number of variables and correlations among variables increases. Discriminant analysis will construct a canonical discriminant function or linear combination of the list of variables which will maximally differentiate between ever and never married women. The discriminant analysis procedure will order the importance of each of the work career variables in their ability, independently, to differentiate between the two groups. The measure of group differences used is an inverse, multivariate measure called Wilks' lambda. A value of lambda near zero denotes a high discrimination value while a lambda score of 1.0 denotes no group differences.

A subprogram of the discriminant analysis will utilize stepwise procedure to obtain a set of variables

which would best discriminate between the two groups i.e. an optimal set of discriminating variables. This begins by selecting the individual variable which provides the greatest univariate discrimination. Each variable is then assessed to see which would best improve the discriminating power of that first variable. The procedure goes on to pair the two best variables with a third or more until all possible variables have been selected or the remaining variables do not contribute a sufficient increment. This optimal set does not necessarily contain the variables found most discriminating, individually, because as variables are selected for inclusion some previously selected variables may have lost their discriminating power. The information they contain about group differences is now available in some combination of other included variables. (Klecka, 1975, p. 447)

The optimal set of discriminating variables is used to derive the linear combination or canonical discriminant function. This function is obtained by using the absolute contribution of each variable to the discriminant procedure. The absolute contribution is measured by the unstandardized canonical coefficients. Any case in the analysis can be assigned a score on the function by using the unstandardized canonical coefficient and multiplying it by the value of each standardized discriminating variable and adding together the products.

A group mean for the function is then derived by averaging the scores for the cases within a particular group. For a single group, the mean on the function is called the group centroid, the average location of a case from that group in the discriminant function space. A histogram is plotted showing the group centroids and the position of the cases along the function. A comparison of the group centroids tells how far apart the groups are along that function. Clearly distinct group centroids with the cases of each group clustered around the respective centroid denotes definite discrimination. Closeness of the group centroids without clear demarcation of the cases denotes small group differences.

Discriminant analysis also gives the standardized canonical coefficients which represent the relative importance of each variable used in the optimal set of discriminating variables. They are used to learn which variables contribute most to determining scores on the function. The larger the coefficient, the greater is that variable's contribution. The sequence in which variables are selected does not necessarily denote their relative importance.

Results and Discussion

The first section of this chapter will contain the results of the discriminant analysis used to discover which variables best discriminate between ever and never married women in their work careers. The second section will include a discussion of the results and implications for further research in women's work and family careers.

Results

Variable Names

An explanation of the variable names used in the tables of results is listed below. A complete discussion of these variables is contained in section C of the review of the literature.

SUM	Number of years worked
STYLE	Style of involvement in work career (inflexible or flexible)
HISTORY	History of work career pattern (externally or internally controlled)
V004	Number of jobs held
V005	Age at entry into work career
V015	Number of gaps in the work career
V017	Length of first gap in work career
V019	Length of second gap in work career
V257	Age at retirement
V289	Age at most satisfying job
V326	Retirement income

FAM 1	The reason for the first gap in work career is a family reason
FAM 2	The reason for the second gap in work career is a family reason
WORK 1	The reason for the first gap in work career is a work reason
WORK 2	The reason for the second gap in work career is a work reason
OTH 1	The reason for the first gap in work career is a reason other than family or work reasons.
OTH 2	The reason for the second gap in work career is a reason other than family or work reasons

Tables

Table 5.1 shows the order of importance of each of the variables, independently, in discriminating between the work careers of ever and never married women. The lowest Wilks' lambda obtained is 0.818; the highest is 0.999. Therefore none of the variables can be considered vigorous discriminators between the two groups.

Table 5.1 Selected Variables on Work Career
with Wilks' Lambdas (n=80)

Variable	Wilks' Lambda
VO15	0.818
FAM 1	0.838
SUM	0.863
VO17	0.917
V289	0.950
VO04	0.961
FAM 2	0.963
WORK 2	0.963
STYLE	0.970
HISTORY	0.974
VO19	0.984
OTH 2	0.989
V326	0.991
VO05	0.997
V257	0.997
OTH 1	0.999
WORK 1	0.999

When the same list of variables concerning the work careers of ever and never married women is used in the SPSS stepwise procedure to obtain an optimal set of discriminating variables, there is a lowering of the Wilks' lambdas and therefore the discriminating power of the set of variables increases. Seven variables are selected by the procedure (see Table 5.2) and the Wilks' lambda for the final step is 0.625.

Table 5.2 Optimal Set of Discriminating Variables (n=80)

Step Entered	Wilks' Lambda	Significance
1 VO15	0.818	0.0001
2 FAM 1	0.727	0.0000
3 SUM	0.681	0.0000
4 WORK 2	0.663	0.0000
5 V326	0.645	0.0000
6 OTH 1	0.636	0.0000
7 V005	0.625	0.0000

Table 5.3 gives the standardized canonical coefficients for each variable used in the optimal set of discriminating variables. These coefficients show the relative importance of each variable in determining scores on the function. The larger the coefficient (ignoring the sign) the greater is that variable's contribution.

Table 5.3 Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients (n=80)

FAM 1	0.801
VO15	0.455
WORK 2	0.353
SUM	-0.340
OTH 1	0.282
V005	0.266
V326	0.256

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between marital status and the involvement of women in a work career. Data was collected from a sample of ever married (n=58) and never married (n=22) women to determine differences or similarities in their careers.

This author expected to find, from the list of variables used in the discriminant analysis, several variables which would show that never married women's work careers are quite different from ever married women's work careers. Chenoweth and Maret (1980) had reported that never married women had a modal pattern of labour force careers. Lopata (1971) had said that "the never married spinster was expected to commit herself seriously to being a librarian or school teacher" (p. 29). In the early part of this century when few women were in the labour force, unmarried women were over-represented. They had been presumed to invest the time and energy into a career that would have otherwise been used as wife and homemaker. (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976)

Ever married women were expected to always put their family careers before any work career. Work was always seen as of secondary importance "never as anything which could be arranged to take occasional priority" (Lopata, 1971, p.29). Rosenfeld (1979) thought married women's careers would be intermittent; depending upon

their family responsibilities.

The first result from the discriminant analysis showed that the work career of ever and never married women were not as different as had been assumed. All the variables which had been predicted to reveal differences between the two groups of women were listed with their Wilks' lambdas. The Wilks' lambdas were high. The range was from 0.818 to 0.999, too close to 1.0, which denotes no group differences, to be considered adequate discriminators, individually. Therefore none of the variables could be used alone to separate women by marital status as to their involvement in work careers. The expectation that never married women would have substantially different work careers from ever married women, at least on several variables was not supported. (see Table 5.1)

When the same set of discriminating variables was subjected to the SPSS stepwise procedure to see if an optimal set of variables could be chosen from the list which would discriminate between ever and never married women, a set of seven variables was produced. These variables, when used as a set, lowered the Wilks' lambda to 0.625 and allowed a successful discrimination. The canonical correlation (denoting the measure of association between the groups and the discriminant function) was 0.612.

The variables contained in the optimal set

included these seven:

VO15	number of gaps in the work career
FAM 1	the reason for the first gap in the work career is a family reason
SUM	the total number of years worked
WORK 2	the reason for the second gap in the work career is a work reason
V326	retirement income
OTH 1	the reason for first gap in the work career is a reason other than work or family
V005	age at entry into work career

Each variable in this set was not important individually, as Table 5.1 had shown, but the seven variables used as a group were able to discriminate between the work careers of ever and never married women. (See Figure 5.1) However the contribution of each variable to the optimal set was different. Although VO15 (number of gaps in the work career) had been the variable first entered in composing the optimal set, FAM 1 (the reason for the first gap in the work career is a family reason) is the variable which is most distinct and least coordinated to the other variables. The standardized canonical discriminant function coefficient for FAM 1 is 0.80 compared to 0.45 for VO15. Therefore FAM 1 contributes twice as much to the discriminant function as the variable which is second in importance, VO15. The other five variables have smaller contributions ranging from 0.35 for WORK 2 (the reason for the second gap in work career is a work

reason) to 0.25 for V326 (retirement income). (See Table 5.2).

Women in this study had been asked the reasons for any gaps in their work careers. The expectation was that women who had been socialized to consider their family career of primary importance would interrupt any work career for family reasons. The variable position of variable FAM 1 in the optimal set shows that more ever married women did report a family reason for first gap. Ever married women exhibited Voydanoff's (1980) sequential staging of family work career by interrupting their work career for a family reason.

The number of gaps in work career (V015) was second in importance in the optimal set. A frequency procedure, carried out before the discriminant analysis, had shown that few women in the sample, whether ever or never married, had many gaps in their work careers.

Table 5.4 Frequency of Gaps (n=80)

NO GAPS	25% OF SAMPLE
ONE GAP	23.8
TWO GAPS	26.3
THREE GAPS	11.3
MORE THAN THREE GAPS	13.7

The mean number of gaps for never married women was 0.68 (with a standard deviation of 0.84); and for ever married was 2.1 (with a standard deviation of 1.5).

Voydanoff (1980) had mentioned an unstable pattern for married women's work-family careers in which women moved in and out of work as family demanded. This does not seem to be the modal pattern for the women in this sample. They seem closer to Heckman and Willis's (1977) finding that women are "heterogenous in their propensity for labour force participation"; they either work or do not work, rather than entering and re-entering the labour force.

The last five variables in the optimal set all contributed relatively small amounts to the discriminating function. More ever married women had cited work reasons for the second gap than never married women. These work reasons had included being laid off, no work available or work had been only seasonal. A partial explanation could be that some jobs were not open to married women during times of depression; also, positions in which women had been employed during the war closed. Married women may have been more affected by these conditions.

The total number of years worked (SUM) added to the optimal set's discriminating power but the relationship is opposite from others in the set. Never married women had worked more years than ever married women. The mean for never married women was 37.5 years (standard deviation of 9) and for ever married women was 28.5 years (standard deviation of 10). The expectation that never married women would have longer work careers

was supported.

More ever married women gave reasons other than family or work for their first gap in work career (OTH 1) than never married women. However this category was not well-defined. The main reason a response was coded as OTH was because of illness of self. This category also included women whose reasons for a gap were unknown as the information contained in this variable is questionable.

Variable V005 compared age of entry of never and ever married women into the work career. The mean age of entry for never married women was 22.4 years (standard deviation 7); the mean for ever married women was 21.4 (standard deviation 7.8). This variable was sixth in importance in discriminating and showed ever married women entered the labour force earlier than never-married women. Because of lack of information about career training for these women and reasons for their first entry into the work force, it is difficult to speculate why never married women would have entered later.

The last variable in the optimal set is V326, retirement income. Ever married women's income was higher than never married. Category 1 for income was under \$10,000; category 2 was under \$15,000. The mean for never married women was 1.68 (standard deviation 0.7); for ever married women, 1.96 (standard deviation 1.5). For ever married women, sources of income were

not listed as belonging to husband or wife so the assumption from this result is that ever married women benefit in retirement from joint retirement income.

Variables which were not used in the optimal set can be omitted because they do not discriminate between the two groups in the analysis or because information they contain is shared by other variables already selected. Variables not selected in this procedure contained information on length of gaps, number of jobs held, age at most satisfactory job, age at retirement and the job history (flexible, inflexible) and style of involvement (external, internal control) of these women in their work careers.

Summary

The first step in the discriminant analysis showed that none of the variables differentiated between never and ever married women individually. Therefore it seems appropriate to speculate that the work careers of ever and never married women are in many respects not substantially different. A persistent theme in the review of the literature was that women had not been socialized to consider work important. Because of this traditional socialization, when never married women found themselves in the position of being single, there seems not to have been a change in their attitudes towards work. Their job histories have not shown remarkable evidence of flexible progression through a career. They do not seem to have used their marital

state to take control of their work situation and become involved in planning their own work lives, any more than ever married women had. They haven't held fewer jobs because of settling into a company or business or more jobs as they search for a rewarding career. Never married women's age at most satisfactory job or age at retirement does not differ substantially from ever married women. Even though number of gaps in work careers helped to discriminate between ever and never married women, the length of those gaps did not.

Because these women were not socialized to consider work an important part of their lives, and, just as importantly, were not trained to participate at more than a minimal level, their labour force participation has not become a focal point of their lives. Writings in social science journals and even popular literature today is emphasizing the magnitude of a woman's labour force participation, even if she interrupts a career for child bearing. Modern methods of birth control, day care facilities and, most important, attitudes towards women in work are changing the traditional socialization of females. A comparison of a cohort of women born in 1960-1970 with the women in this study would be interesting.

More research needs to be undertaken, though, with the women in the age cohort of this study. A collation of the work and family careers of professional

women to non-professional women would show the prevalence of traditional role socialization. Did these women also have gaps in their work careers for family reasons? Did they show more flexibility and internal control in their work lives? Did ever married professional women's work careers differ from never married women's careers?

Using this exploratory study as a base of information, women in this age cohort could be asked more qualitative questions as to their family and work interface. A larger sample of never married women is needed to give assurance that never married women's work careers were not substantially different from ever married women's careers. There is a paucity of information about never married women in the literature. They are a subgroup of women who have been assumed to be more like men in their labour force participation. This study seems to point to their likenesses to other women of their age. A comparison of men's and women's work careers during this historical time, especially on variables such as marital status, job histories and style of involvement in their work careers would add to the information on the family-work interface. The family's interaction with the economic system has always been important in a family's life. Because more women will be spending more years in the economic system in the future, a perception of the history of women's involvement will assist in the understanding of changes which will occur in work and family careers in

the future.

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APPENDIX A

Work Career Form

We would like to know as accurately as possible all of the paid jobs that you have had. Please answer the following questions for each job beginning with the first paid job you held after you were 18. We would like you to complete the following questions for each job you have held.

Job Number: _____

1. What was the name of the company or organization for whom you worked?

2. What was the title of your job?
(e.g. secretary, sales clerk)

3. What were your duties?
(e.g. typing, filing, answering telephones. Please be as specific as possible.)

4. How old were you when you got this job?

_____ years old

5. How did you get the job?

6. Was it full time or part time? Please check one.

(a) full time _____

(b) part time _____

7. How old were you when you left the job?

_____ years old

8. Why did you leave?

Retirement Activity Form

On the following form, we would like you to indicate how often you do each activity listed below. First, read the activity and decide how often you do it. Find the response number which best describes how often you do the activity and place this under the "HOW OFTEN" column. e.g. If you shop daily, look at "how often you do it" to find "DAILY". 8 is the response number. Place the number 8 under "HOW OFTEN" (see below).

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>HOW OFTEN</u>
e.g. Shopping (all kinds)	8
1. Shopping (all kinds)	_____
2. Visiting with family	_____
3. Visiting with friends and acquaintances	_____
4. Volunteer work (unpaid)	_____
5. Employment (paid)	_____
6. Travelling	_____
7. Playing bingo or card games	_____
8. Participating in sports (e.g. golf, fishing, bowling, curling, etc.)	_____
9. Attending sports events (e.g. hockey, football, etc.)	_____
10. Attending club meetings and organizations	_____
11. Attending religious services	_____
12. Obtaining professional services (doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc.)	_____
13. Attending movies, theater, concerts, museums	_____
14. Hobbies - crafts, art, music, writing, etc.	_____
15. Resting - napping, or "just sitting"	_____
16. Walking, strolling for pleasure	_____
17. Working on lawn, garden, or exterior of home	_____
18. Meal preparation	_____
19. Housework	_____
20. Driving a car	_____
21. Watching T.V. or listening to radio	_____
22. Reading - books, newspapers, magazines	_____

How Often Do You Do The Activity

- 8 - DAILY (5-7 times weekly)
- 7 - THREE OR FOUR TIMES PER WEEK
- 6 - WEEKLY (once or twice per week)
- 5 - MONTHLY (once or twice per month)
- 4 - SEVERAL TIMES PER YEAR
- 3 - YEARLY (once or twice per year)
- 2 - WITHIN LAST 3 YEARS
- 1 - LESS OR NEVER

Now, we would like to determine some of the reasons why you do the activities you have listed on the Retirement Activity Form. Please answer for all activities you do yearly or more often. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers to this section.

For each activity listed we would like you to make 3 choices: whether it is voluntary or compulsory, necessary or unnecessary, enjoyable or unenjoyable. Please place an X on the blank which most clearly shows your reason for doing that activity for each of the three questions. For example, you may feel that as a rule shopping is for you mostly a voluntary activity. In response to this first question, you would place your X near to the voluntary end of the scale. Your response to the second section may be that shopping is completely necessary. You would put your X next to necessary on the scale. Shopping may be equally enjoyable and unenjoyable to you. You would then respond to the third question by putting your X in the centre of the scale. (see below)

EXAMPLE

SHOPPING

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary _____ : X : _____ : _____ : _____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary X : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable _____ : _____ : X : _____ : _____ unenjoyable

1. SHOPPING

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

2. VISITING WITH FAMILY

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

3. VISITING WITH FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

4. VOLUNTEER WORK (UNPAID)

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

5. EMPLOYMENT (PAID)

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

6. TRAVELLING

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

7. PLAYING BINGO OR CARD GAMES

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

8. PARTICIPATING IN SPORTS (e.g. golf, fishing, bowling
curling, etc.)

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is
this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

9. ATTENDING SPORTS EVENTS (e.g. hockey, football, etc.)

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is
this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

10. ATTENDING CLUB MEETINGS AND ORGANIZATIONS

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is
this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

11. ATTENDING RELIGIOUS SERVICES

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

12. OBTAINING PROFESSIONAL SERVICES (doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc.)

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

13. ATTENDING MOVIES, THEATRE, CONCERTS, MUSEUMS

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

14. HOBBIES (e.g. crafts, art, music, writing, etc.)

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

15. RESTING - NAPPING OR "JUST SITTING"

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

16. WALKING, STROLLING FOR PLEASURE

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

17. WORKING ON LAWN, GARDEN OR EXTERIOR OF HOME

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

18. MEAL PREPARATION

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

19. HOUSEWORK

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

20. DRIVING A CAR

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

21. WATCHING T.V. OR LISTENING TO RADIO

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

22. READING - BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES

a) Do you consider this activity to be:

voluntary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ compulsory

b) In order to meet your daily living requirements is this activity:

necessary ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unnecessary

c) Do you feel that this activity is:

enjoyable ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unenjoyable

APPENDIX B
IN-HOME INTERVIEW

WORK CAREER AND RETIREMENT

1. Date of birth _____

2. Marital status

- 1) married
- 2) single (never married)
- 3) divorced
- 4) widowed

3. (If 1, 2, or 4 above)

When were you

- 1) married _____
- 2) divorced _____
- 3) widowed _____
- 4) remarried _____

(exact date
of each)

4. Are you retired from full time employment?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Comments _____

5. (If yes) Would you say you

- 1) chose to retire
- 2) had to retire

Comments _____

6. If yes to #4, when did you retire?

Date _____

7. (If married) Is your husband retired?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Semi-retired
(If retired) what was the date of his
retirement? _____

8. What was the major reason for your retirement?

- 1) retirement was compulsory
- 2) health
- 3) husband's retirement
- 4) wanted to do other things
- 5) couldn't find work
- 6) other _____

9. Some people say that it is harder for men to retire than women because men are more attached to their jobs.

What has been your experience?

- 1) agree retirement is harder for men
- 2) disagree
- 3) don't know

Comments _____

10. What is the highest level of education you have completed? Check all that apply

- 1) elementary school
- 2) some high school
- 3) high school
- 4) career training
- 5) some university
- 6) university degree

11. (If married, divorced, widowed) How many children do you have _____

If respondent has no children, go to Question #15.

12. (If respondent has children) Please tell me the age, sex, and marital status of each of your children.

Age	Sex	Marital status
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

13. (If respondent has children) When did your first child leave home?
_____ (year)
14. (If respondent has children) When did your last child leave home?
_____ (year)
15. How long have you lived in _____ (name of town)?
_____ years
16. How long have you lived in your present home?
_____ years
17. (Interviewer: indicate type of home)
- 1) single family
 - 2) condominium
 - 3) apartment
 - 4) retirement community
 - 5) other _____

As you know, one of the main purposes of this study is to find out some things about your past work experiences. (Ask to see respondents work career form and offer help with questions or concerns).

18. a) What was your most satisfying job?

- b) Why do you think so? _____

19. a) What was your least satisfying job?

- b) Why do you think so? _____

20. If you could choose what one of the following to do tomorrow would you
- a) work at your old job
 - b) work at a new job
 - c) take part in your favourite non-work activity
 - d) relax and do nothing

(Interviewer: If there were periods of time when the respondent did not work, probe for reasons such as life cycle stage, economic conditions, etc.)

21. a) Would you say that leaving your last job was different than leaving any of your previous jobs?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
- b) (If yes) In what way? _____

22. What did you like most about working?

23. What did you like least about working?

24. What do you like most about retirement?

25. What do you like least about retirement?

26. How much would you say you miss work?

1	2	3	4	5
terribly				not at all

27. On your most recent job would you say

- 1) most of your friends were firends from your work
- 2) most of your friends were from outside of your work
- 3) you had about equal numbers of friends from your work and elsewhere

28. There has been much discussion recently about leisure in our society. Could you tell me how you define leisure? _____

29. One of the things we asked you to do before this interview was to fill out a retirement activities form. I would like you to go back through that form and indicate which of those activities you consider to be leisure activities.

(Ask respondent to check those activities she thinks are leisure)

30. When you were working at your most recent job would you say that most of your leisure activities

- 1) were work related (i.e. socializing with co-workers, playing in work organized curling league, etc.)
- 2) were not work related
- 3) were about equally spent between work and non-work related activities.

There has been much recent discussion in the popular press about income and retirement. We would like to know some things about your financial situations

31. What is your present yearly family income (self and spouse)

- 1) under \$10,000
- 2) 10,000 to 14,999
- 3) 15,000 to 19,999
- 4) 20,000 to 24,999
- 5) 25,000 to 29,999
- 6) 30,000 to 34,999
- 7) 35,000 to 39,999
- 8) over 40,000

32. What are your present sources of income? (self and spouse)

(Check all that apply)

- 1) Private pension _____
- 2) RRSP's _____
- 3) Old Age Security _____
- 4) Canada Pension _____
- 5) Savings _____
- 6) Investments _____
- 7) Paid employment _____
- 8) Other _____

33. From which one of those sources do you get the largest proportion of your income? (self and spouse)

- 1) Private pensions _____
- 2) RRSP's _____
- 3) Old Age Security _____
- 4) Canada Pension _____
- 5) Savings _____
- 6) Investments _____
- 7) Paid employment _____
- 8) Other _____

34. a) Is your present income adequate to do the kinds

of things you would like to do?

1) Yes _____

2) No _____

Comments _____

Now I would like to know some things about your health.

35. In general would you say that your health is

1) very good

2) good

3) average

4) fair

5) poor

36. Would you say that your health is better or worse than the health of other people your age? (Just your opinion)

1) better

2) about the same

3) worse

37. a) In the past few years are there any activities you have had to reduce or give up because of your health?

1) Yes _____

2) No _____

b) (If yes) What are they? _____

Now I would like to talk to you about the people in your life.

(Ask of those who have children):

38. How many of your children live within a one hour drive of your home? _____

39. How many relatives do you have within a one hour drive of your home? _____
40. How many close friends do you have in this area? _____
(Let respondent determine area)
41. How many of your neighbours do you know? _____
42. How many clubs and organizations do you belong to?

43. How many people other than members of your household would you say you talk to on an average day? _____
44. Please tell me approximately how many visits or phone conversations you have per month with
- 1) relatives _____
 - 2) friends _____
 - 3) neighbours _____
 - 4) your children _____

We would like to know something about the relative importance of various people in your life and activities in which you are involved. We would also like to know about the opportunities you have to see people and be involved in activities. For example, it might be very important to you to see your children, but you have little opportunity to see them because they live in Halifax.

I am going to give you two checklists. On the first checklist I would like you to indicate how much opportunity you now have to engage in each of the activities.

On the second list I would like you to indicate how important it is to you now to engage in the same activities.

CHECKLIST 1

Please circle the number opposite each statement that best describes your present situation.

How much opportunity do you have now:

	Unlimited Opportunity	A Great Deal of Opportunity	Some Opportunity	Little Opportunity	No Opportunity
1) To see your children?					
2) To see other relatives?					
3) To see your friends?					
4) To make new friends?					
5) To see former workmates?					
6) To belong to clubs?					
7) To develop new hobbies?					
8) To go to church?					

CHECKLIST 2

Please circle the number opposite each statement that best describes your feelings now.

How important is it to you now?

	Extremely Important	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Of Little Importance	Not Important At All
1) To see your children?					
2) To see other relatives?					
3) To see your friends?					
4) To make new friends?					
5) To see former workmates?					
6) To belong to clubs?					
7) To develop new hobbies?					
8) To go to church?					

45. Did you mark any categories where you do not presently have as much opportunity as you would like to do things or see people that you are important to you?

- 1) Yes _____ (If yes, what prevents you from being involved?)
 2) No _____

46. The following is a list of ongoing situations in which most women find themselves. Please order these from 1 (most important) to 6 (least important) according to how you feel about them in your life. Please leave blank only those in which you have never been involved (i.e. wife for single women).

1) wife	_____	Comments: _____
2) mother	_____	_____
3) worker	_____	_____
4) homemaker	_____	_____
5) friend	_____	_____
6) leisure participant	_____	_____

Finally,

We would like to know something of your present feelings toward life in general. After each of the following statement, please check the column that is closest to your feelings.

	AGREE	DISAGREE
1. As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be.		
2. I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know.		
3. This is the most unpleasant time of my life.		
4. I am just as happy as when I was younger.		
5. My life could be happier than it is now.		
6. These are the best years of my life.		
7. Most of the things I do are boring or monotonous.		
8. I expect some interesting and pleasant things to happen to me in the future.		
9. The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were.		

AGREE DISAGREE

10. I feel old and somewhat tired.		
11. I feel my age, but it does not bother me.		
12. As I look back on my life, I am fairly satisfied.		
13. I would not change my past life even if I coul.		
14. Compared to other people my age, I've made a lot of foolish decisions in my life.		
15. Compared to other people my age, I've done alright.		
16. I have made plans for things I'll be doing a month or a year from now.		
17. When I think back over my life, I didn't get most of the important things I wanted.		
18. Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often.		
19. I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of life.		
20. In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.		

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